623 immaterial; for a jma'th which formerly contained only two dharfiqin
613 may now have three, four or five, and tomorrow even more, with a
621 proportionate increase in houses and rifles. What the jma'th is not, however, is a family group united by blood ties--it is not a dharfiqth.

623 .....The jma'th came into being because of the necessity of common
182 usufruct of elements essential to sustain life, such as water, pasture
621 lands, brushwood, etc., and because of the necessity of regulating relations, both material and spiritual, with one's neighbors (hence mosques, which come into being after such an association has been effected). The result was that when a group for any reason abandoned its original jma'th in order to establish itself elsewhere--insofar as its growth and development made it do so, it cut off relationships with its parent group and its point of origin to constitute a new and independent nucleus[71].

621 Many Rifians confuse dharfiqth with jma'th, and proof of this
623 is that when one asks the members of a given group where they are
613 from, it is the same to them to answer "From such and such a jma'th"
[829] or "From such and such a dharfiqth", because the dharfiqth in question forms part of the jma'th whence they originated. Jma'th has a geographical connotation, while dharfiqth smells of nomadism (sic)[72]. This also explains why in different places one may find jma'th-s having the same name but formed by different dharfiqin, because over the course of time other splinter-groups from other jma'th-s became associated with the initial splinter-group from the first jma'th.....

621 I am dubious about the value of the number of households as a cri-
623 terion in definition; but I think that the best single datum available
571

(646 554 although not all of them with the same degree of forcefulness. Anyone may speak, although the majority, as elsewhere, are silent. A spontaneous speaker caused the same sensation, stupor and curiosity as those like him in Spain do in the bull-ring, and the result was almost the same. An amqqran or councilmember interrupted him, saying "You here, you have just made the gesture of a stupid idiot," and the poor man, reddened and embarrassed, was silent amid general noise and quarreling, which the ingenious councilmember smilingly recalled (646 554 124 in later years.....Another incident: once a man whom I did not know was proposed to me as a candidate for a position of tribal authority, and I wanted to find out about him. I began a series of questions and reflections regarding the virtues which anyone nominated would have to possess, such as honor, ability, etc. I was, however, surprised to find the person to whom I was talking interrupt me, saying quickly, "No, no, no! You think he is like So-and-so?" (And So-and-so was a very short-statured men, as I myself am.) "Not at all, he is thus!" With this the speaker, a big, fat fellow, raised his shoulders up with a graphic gesture, thumping his chest and laughing, saying that nobody could willingly argue about his own authority.

646 554 829 [671] Among Rifians, then, names of tribal functionaries seem literally and faithfully to interpret the idea of the function involved, as amghar and amqqran both convey the idea of "big, adult, old". This is reflected in the qanuns when, in reference to those attending a meeting, prior to inscribing a list of the names of the notables present, those who drew up the qanun in question were very

careful to state that all those at the convocation were the "majors" and the "minors" (los grandes y pequeños)[102] of such and such a place. The written titles or nominations of functionaries, and the pompous Arabic names of qa'id, qadi and mqaddim, with which some men like to adorn their names in order to astonish simpletons and impress strangers, are only of value inside their own houses (author's italics), just as the titles of doctor and coronel formerly were in certain South American republics! In the Rif, there was, in pre-'Abd al-Krim days, no qa'id and no qadi[103]; only imgharen and igrawn, iziddjifen, dharfiqin and turba, the last-mentioned being warlike amanuenses whose fingers are better suited to hilt or trigger than to pen, while the other names are the most definite external indices of the degree of Islamization[104] of those who possess them. We will not speak here of such fantastic personages as the bu-mwarith[105] or the ukil l-ghuyab[106] and other shadowy figures recently created by the Spanish protectoral administration, who will probably soon disappear if not taken proper care of!

6) Resume of Rifian Tribal Functionaries (given even though Rifians tend to confuse them among themselves!):

a) the iziddjifen, "headmen", or representatives of each dharfiqth, constituting the permanent council of the jma'th.

b) the imqqranen, "big ones" (or imgharen, pl. of amghar), the representatives elected by the jma'th (author's italics) for its own prestige, and the delegates of the latter territorial unit in the clan council, whose habitual meeting site was the market, and whose job it was to make the law.

794 871 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an....

[872] [873] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedicated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some

[829] [876] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family....The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 103 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 [631] 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

000 50--The fact of whether or not women inherit (informants invariably say that they do, according to the Shari'a, but they tend, by their actions, to prove the contrary) is a crucial question in Berber [114] social organization. This has been nicely perceived by Blanco, whose opinions on the subject will be treated in their proper place.

[114] 51--This prognostication made by Blanco has yet to come true, as the [669] revolt in late 1958 and early 1959 staged by the Aith Waryaghar against the Moroccan government has abundantly proven. Tribal [186] "we-feeling" and "the sociopolitical importance of the group"--at whatever level of segmentation--seems to us to be as strong as ever.

[829] 52--This is a most interesting notion, and one which is never expressed as such by Rifians but implied in most of their actions, behavior and conversation.

[114] 53--Blanco is in effect trying to define each of the Rifian social units in a state of isolation, as it were, from the others, and trying to take them out of context. In so doing, he advocates, in effect, rigid definitions when what is called for is fluid ones. Small wonder, therefore, that he admits his task to be difficult!

54--In the original, ramas familiares--and, as I have stated earlier, what the jajgu is in fact is a lineage branch of the dharfiqth, and can only be adequately discussed in the light of the latter--or, in anthropological terms, in the light of a total system of segmentary lineage organization.

55--Blanco's argument, when boiled down, is as follows: the jajgu or azwar is a social unit which is essentially the result of polygyny, and if a man has descendants reckoned agnatically from three wives, each of these three sets of descendants form the nucleus of a jajgu which takes a uterine descent from the wife in question as its point of departure.

This, of course, is preposterous. Given a perfectly genuine situation, Blanco has drawn conclusions which are entirely erroneous. He would have us believe, in effect, that matrilineal descent may exist, under certain conditions, in a patrilineal society! Hardly. The fact of the matter is that 1) even though ijujga may originate from the descendants of different wives of the same man; and 2) even though one or more of these wives may come from a clan or tribe other than that of her or their husband--in which case the name of the jajgu may reflect her origin or even her name, although even so it is invariably preceded by that of her son; even in instances of this kind, descent is always reckoned through the male line, and the patrilineal principle obtains throughout. Polygyny is in no way a function of uterine descent, even though there may be evidences of matronymy; and the only mitigating factor in Blanco's hypothesis is that from an overall standpoint, he himself still entertains some doubts about its validity.

56--This is a very good and well-taken point indeed, and goes a considerable way toward explaining why, particularly with respect to issues of wider scope than those within, say, the clan, the statements of different informants (often) tend to vary so greatly. We would go even further: we believe that such ambiguity is absolutely inherent

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 It is of interest to note in passing that the only other part of North Africa where the same word (or, at least, a close variation, harfiqth) is normally employed to denote a lineage is among the Shawiya of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria (cf. Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, series "Que Sais-Je?", Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p. 37.)

[614] 63--Montagne is completely in error here, for the Rifian dharfiqth is not a clan at all, but a patrilineage. Blanco is somewhat nearer the truth, but always with this reservation: that although in some jma'th-s there may be (and indeed there are) no known kinship ties between their component dharfiqin, in others there most definitely are such ties. The latter case, as previously stated, is indeed the rule rather than the exception; but affiliations in either case can only be established on the basis of an individiual jma'th-by-jma'th analysis, and not selectively, as Blanco, in effect, has done it.

[581] 64--We have found no particular regional emphasis here. Marriages are made, among other reasons, both to heal bloodfeuds and to cement political alliances in both the Rif and the Atlas, and we are sure this is the case in Kabylia as well, although we have no personal acquantance with the area.

[593] 65--One feels that some aspect of this judgment may be unnecessarily harsh even though we have heard (but not seen) a number of informants [114] beat their wives, with the accompanying screams and howls of the latter. It is very difficult for a male anthropologist to gain any kind of access whatsoever to Rifian women, with the result that almost all information of this kind must of necessity be at second-hand, rather than direct observation. It also goes without saying that any remarks one might make about "cruelty" can, if not considered within the proper ethical-cultural framework, be construed only as value judgments.

66--To our knowledge, a woman cannot act as ukih for another women in the Rif.

[423] 67--Jma-th or collective property consists in the main of pasture land.

[114] 68--We have never heard of anything of the sort in the Rif, where theft is generally punished by a fine and the restitution of the stolen object.

69--The Scottish clan, as any anthropologist knows, is not a clan at all, but a bilateral kindred. Rifians, as already mentioned, however, [614] do have clans (the largest and topmost level groupings in each tribe function as such); but these are quite a different thing from the notion of the jma'th!

[114] 70--Blanco does not specifically come out and say so, but he obviously thinks--and, in large measure, correctly--that the inability of most [829] Rifians to explain what a jma'th is and what its social role consists of may well have led to the confusion evinced by previous authors in attempting to define it. In any case, a certain degree of structural ambiguity seems to be inherent in Berber social organization generally.

000 Ulad 'Abbu and J'auna) and in the Igzinnayen (or Gzinnaya: Bni 'Asim, Bni Yunis, Ulad 'Ali bin 'Aida, Bni Mhammad, Ulad l-Uta, and Imzdurar, of which only the last mentioned retains its Berber name, "mountaineers").

[114] [829] 147--The Branis tribe (Arabic branis, sing. barnus, "burnous") is very probably Berber by descent; but it is, as Blanco notes, entirely Arabic speaking today (as is Igzinnayen's other neighbor, Marnisa), and Rifians consider it "jabalan" rather than as one of their own.

[133] 148--Tizi Usli, "the pass of the bridegroom", is a tribal administration post in the northeastern Igzinnayen, while Azru Aqshar, "bald rock" or "bald mountain", is, at 2010 meters, the highest peak in the Central Rifian area, and is located just north of Tizi Usli, which nestles in its shadow.

[114] 149--Blanco is in error here, for all of Igzinnayen are Rifians, and of Berber origin. Even if they were not, there would in any case be little basis for a (largely artificial) contrast in physical type and/or language and/or institutions; and once again, Blanco is groping with outmoded anthropological theory.

150--As noted, the "Arab-Berber" dichotomy which Blanco draws within Igzinnayen is largely a figment of his imagination. The southern clans of Igzinnayen neither "obeyed" nor "resisted" the Makhzin in pre-Protectorate times, any more than the northern ones or any of the other Rifian tribes did. In fact, aside from Bushta al-Bahdadi's punitive expedition to Ibuqquyen in 1898, the Makhzin tended to leave the Rifians severely alone. Informants say that the sultans Mulay al-Hasan, Mulay 'Abd al-Aziz and Mulay Hafidh all appointed qa'ids and shaikhs in all the Rifian tribes, but such "appointments" were nothing but dahirs which ratified the already existing tribal and clan chiefs. In the Rif, therefore, the notion of "Republik" or siba was essentially characterized by a lack of contact between tribes and central government; and the above-mentioned dahirs merely preserved the status quo.

619 151--Like the Aith Waryaghar, the Igzinnayen are regarded as being divided into either two or five top segments, according to one's informants, although, unlike Aith Waryaghar, the problem of segment discontinuity within the tribe is (virtually) non-existent. The division into two top segments gives us the following: Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth. Asht Bu 'Amar is in turn segmented into Asht Yunis and Asht 'Asim; and the first of these, Asht Yunis, is again segmented into Asht Yunis Proper, Asht 'Aru 'Aisa and Asht Mhand, while the second Asht 'Asim, is divided into Asht 'Asim Proper and Asht Findish. Asht r-Manth is segmented into Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha.

The division into five top segments bypasses the level of the top to give us Asht 'Asim, Asht Yunis, Asht Mhand, Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha; and immediately we note a discrepancy between the two systems. In the first, Asht Mhand is given the status of a subsegment of Asht Yunis, while in the second it is a top-level segment or clan in its own right; and the Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (Aith Waryaghar), who was 'Abd al-Krim's top field commander in the Igzinnayen in 1925-26 and who provided us with the second set of data, told me

695 F) Oaths (fragmentary):[35]

In most cases, it is not the plaintiff who must prove his pretensions or denunciations, but the accused, who has to justify himself if the complaint is false. There are cases in which the accused has [562] no defense, such as offenses against women, in which the notion of the latter as minors comes into play. If the accusation of a women against her assailant is sufficient to punish the latter[36], where does one find more protection for the woman? Perhaps the rigor in these matters and 695 839 the fear of accusation by jealous husbands or fear of reprisals have permitted to a certain extent crimes such as rape[36a] A, A etc., which, if not frequent, are nonetheless common enough to have a sanction imposed upon them in defense of the common moral standard.

695 [671] [191] Means of Proof: Testimonies differ from those admitted by the Shari'a. In most cases testimony is invalid unless five members of the accused man's family (i.e. his agnates) are present to swear. They are 695 623 previously selected by him, but the jma'th, who know very well the men constitute its membership, can refuse to admit any of them that it wants [613] to[37]. In serious cases, ten members of the dharfiqth of the accused are required to take oath; they are, however, not chosen by the defendant himself, but by the jma'th, among (translator's italics) the members of his dharfiqth[38].

695 829 181 Thus, if oaths are permitted as means of proof, the number of cojurors varies according to the gravity of the offense; this provides a greater guarantee and shows in yet another way that Rifian society is not individual, but solid and familial; in its concept of collective responsibility, blame or sanctions attach to the group rather than to

A, [This footnote was not included in the notes at the end of this section, p. 229--Analyst]

616 619 648 173 616 619 182 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is established as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis, break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such 616 619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 621 [602] Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 601 829 [191] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [191] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[114] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 621 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

671 of a compressed crowd which, hooded and silent in a semi-circle, hears its own echo in the voice of one of its constituents calling out to the four winds in a harsh thamazighth accent and with graphic gestures, while the black muzzles of rifles above their heads make the moment more solemn and the silence more impressive and represent the law, a strong, hard and impassioned law, the primitive law of the pastoral (sic) peoples. And if we ourselves might have had the good fortune to be eye-witnesses, perhaps we would have felt the chill of the anathema against our brethren for making them responsible for our acts.

[539] Qanun of the Sub-Clan of the Aith 'Adhiya: ".....all of the above-mentioned villages of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers; they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them one thousand duros as fine".

671 829 609 Do not ask the Rifians about their qanuns, as they do not like to reveal them; they know them to be modest, they fear that they will not be understood and that they will be considered as a joke; they guard them and conceal them as carefully as the dearest members of their families, as their own tongue, with an understandable atavism; and so strong is the feeling of mistrust that it would be offensive and erroneous to attribute to them an inferiority complex; and if, in circumstantial preservation, you wanted to learn their language, they would invariably try to dissuade you with bitter phrases which they once might have heard, if not from your lips from those of your brother officers; and one does not know whether to think the sad reproach, the instinctive defense of the community or an absurd conviction is 829 the reason[3]. They speak disparagingly of their own language as of

829 their own dwellings, anticipating possible impertinences and discourtesies which, wounding their brittle and easily hurt amour propre, would not be able to reject their ways and customs; but if, at some time, and it would not often happen, their instinctive suspicion and simulated servility and docility are momentarily broken down, a single sentence or even a single word will reveal to you all the power and strength of their race, the pride in their ancestry and the consciousness of their superiority; for it is precisely the Rifian resistance to all innovations and to all submission which is one of their most fundamental characteristics![4] In support of this we may refer to the
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152 case of a qa'id, of an old qa'id of a Rifian tribe, who in the company
[123] of others had to attend an official meeting at which protocol compelled a special dress to be worn. The only indication that I gave him that he had to change his clothes for the officers was an outrage to him, which I noticed on seeing his cheeks turn red. The game was lost and an adequate answer was forthcoming: "Do you think I am a little boy?" The other quyad (pl. of qa'id) intervened, but he paid no attention to them; if they wished, he would do so, if not, he would retire; and that old and dignified mountaineer went out with his clothes unchanged, showing himself in the natural and logical manner of his own protocol and not in that of the others, a manner in which, also, he has all his excellence.

671 If we turn our attention to these qanuns, if, after putting aside our European criteria of judgment, we diligently examine their badly constructed phrases and sentences, if we analyze their meaning with all possible affection and if we really desire to penetrate into the spirit

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

"There is no law", the imgharen announced through the mouth of
628 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
616 inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[195] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alli-
[203] ances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater effi-cacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
671 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
628 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14)
728 for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
721 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
[182] independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
671 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
628 over it.
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623

2) Commentary:

This document, this community charter, as is customary with such writings, begins by enumerating the men who attended the meeting in which it was drawn up. This simple list of names reveals to us, in the first place, the supremacy of the laymen, with civil power, over the clerics, a fact which may be observed in the name of the man figuring in first place being ahead of that of the Talib Sidi Shu'aib. The order in which the names occur is not a casual one. The editors of the qanums, profound psychologists who know to perfection the environment in which they operate, never dare to invert the terms of social protocol; they know with their eyes closed who must occupy the preferential place, and that the slightest transgression in this respect would tear down not only the agreement, through any quarrel which might take place, but also the effigy of the editors themselves[39].....

671 554 623

671 829 576 623

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The first paragraph puts into relief just who are the representative men of the jma'th, the notables, the heads of the lineages making up the village, the iziddifen, who formed the council regulating neighborhood relations, the only council empowered to legislate in such questions (Blanco: paragraph i or j), and equivalent to the Spanish Consejo or Ayuntamiento.[40]

The agraw or council-meeting held on this occasion by the iziddifen had as its object, as the written qanun shows us, the legislation of neighborhood questions concerning the council, regulation of the coexistence of its lineage members, guaranteeing the free and peaceful usufruct of individual and communal (i.e. water) property,

000 sought to remedy them.

671 This qanun, from a social standpoint, shows certain differences
671 from the others. We may appreciate, for example, in these men of the
181 Mediterranean coast their greater contact with European civilization,
[177] how they struggle to rise from the mass, emerging from the anonymity in which the ritual words "adults and minors" are apt to encircle them, from these words which in many qanuns designate those who attend their council meetings, from which there only stands out in any decorative fashion some religious individual (i.e. a sharif or murabit), which was more in conformity with their communistic (sic!) society.

181 In the same manner as today, the city dweller wishes to rise from
369 the rural mass, holding on with doubtful pleasure to the easy means
554 of using shoes, visiting cards, gloves, tombstones and cigarettes,
177 in the European style. The city dweller, by the mere fact of lengthen-
369 ing his jillab[71] and putting on shoes, if not sneakers[72], considers
554 himself on a higher level than his rural fellow-countrymen, although
291 his mentality is analogous and his virtues inferior.

369 The countryman has an opinion of the European which borders
829 on indifference, as he neither feels cravings to imitate him nor ape his manner. The city dweller envies the European, and for this reason he imitates him and hates him.

369 Thus the vivacious city dwellers, when they wish to gain the sympathy of their fellow countrymen and, on being forced to intern themselves in the country[73], try to imitate the latter ostentatiously[74] .....although this by no means lets them succeed in escaping the ironic judgments of these astute countrymen.

614 648 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 [671] [829] As European states do, this document imposes a public duty upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While, [682] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that [443] among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 574 671 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

671 701 [702] 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

[128] 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 829 609 648 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!" 648 Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

000 [177] 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on [181] [609] the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get [114] away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

243 While barley is the predominant crop, maize is an important secondary one. Wheat and rye are also grown but the latter is held in low esteem as a food product[1] and the former does not grow successfully on the thin residual soil of the region. In 241 [312] those areas where there are rivers or streams, small gardens are maintained by irrigation canals. In these are cultivated potatoes, tomatoes, onions, garlic, squash, turnips, green peppers and mint.

245 In addition to the grains, maize, and small vegetable gardens, many households also have orchards of fruit and nut trees. Fig, lemon, orange, pomegranate, walnut, almond, and olive trees are common. In some areas grapes are also cultivated. Around each house is a grove of prickly pears which serves not only as a means of preserving privacy, but also as a source of food. These products not only supplement and add variety to the regular diet but in the case of oranges, almonds and grapes serve as cash crops. The olives are pressed by the [258] [262] women to provide crude cooking oil. Nuts, dried grapes and figs are an important winter food reserve. The work of pruning and [221] grafting goes on during the months of February-March-April.

243 In early summer harvesting begins. Both men and women engage in this activity, the men doing the reaping with hand

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[829] [1]Coon (1931:47-48) states that rye is highly praised by the Riffian but that since the Arabs scorn it as a foodstuff the Berbers are ashamed to admit its worth.

582 Within any one dharfiqth
[613] there are both endogamous and exogamous marriage. The same holds
582 true for the fraction although endogamy at this structural level
619 is probably more pronounced. There is no prohibition against marriage into other tribes and such marriage seems more a function of proximity than any cultural rule. There is more tribal exogamy between Ait Kamara in the Beni Wariyaghar and Izmourin in Ibuqquyen or Arba Turirt in Beni Wariyaghar and Igzinnayen than for the respective tribes as a whole. Proximity tends to be less
565 582 important among the notables who have a smaller pool of prospects from which to draw.

582 602 611 The main structural consequence of the absence of prescriptive rules is that there is no common genealogical unity at any level of social organization beyond the extended family. Since recruitment into the descent group does not follow any single principle, there is a weakening of the patrilineal principle. Although rights in property and children almost always
611 602 remain in the patrilineal line, the organization of the society is not exclusively or even preponderantly based on this principle. A man's matrilineal relatives (who may with cousin marriage also be related through patrilineal lines), as well as non-related friends, neighbors, and patrons, may receive equal or greater emphasis. A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was

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582 114 [829] of such marriages does not appear to be high. It might be more correct to state that FaBrDa marriage is neither a preferred nor a completely approved union. As one young man expressed to me with disgust: "It's a custom of the Arabs. But it is wrong. It's like marrying your sister." The comment was made as we prepared to attend exactly such a union.

443 438 undoubtedly, in the fact that each production unit is a replica of all the other units. Each seller has the same commodities, in about the same proportions and selling for similar prices. Individual (A) has commodities x and y which he wishes to sell in order to buy z. Individual (B) has the same commodities which he seeks to dispose of in order to achieve the same goal. And so forth, throughout the whole of the assembled tribesmen. What exchange does take place among the fellah exists, for the most part, as a function of slight ecological differentiation between local areas.

The fellah, by and large, enters the market and disposes of his goods at whatever price they will fetch, either to fellow tribesmen or merchants from the outside. Naturally he seeks the best return that he can get, but his motivations lie far from the rest of the merchants who seek capital accumulation. His [439] desire is to acquire cash for tobacco, tea, sugar, cooking oil, kerosene, and a kilo of fish or meat, or to transfer his gain back into the status economy of which he is so much a part. He partakes of the selling process for only as long as it is absolutely necessary. Ideally, he should not even need to sell.

443 829 Unlike the peasants of many areas (Guatemala and Mexico come to mind), the average Riffian is not a "marketeer" and marketing is not a primary household activity. In an ethnographic study of the small village of San Antonino in Oaxaca, Mexico, I was impressed by the fact that everyone seemed to be deeply concerned about what went on in the market. Many of the

443 townsmen were traders who carried their vegetables and flowers
829 on foot or bus to distant parts of the regional market in order to achieve maximum profits. The Riffian seeks only to make an exchange in his local market in order that he might get back to the more important aspects of his life.

443 Such exchange, however, is not without calculation. As I
438 mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Berber goes to his local
182 suq because it satisfies certain social needs. He likewise frequents the market because it offers him clear-cut economic
443 advantage. It is here that he has acquaintances among the mer-
438 chants, craftsmen and occupational specialists with whom he has
571 certain guarantees, based on familiarity, that he will receive a fair price. Such assurance is absent in a foreign market.
[609] Invariably, the stranger pays more for a service or good than the regular customer. In the most important aspect of trade, that of livestock, this consideration is coupled with that of
443 transportation. From the standpoint of seeking out the best
438 price based on multiple competition, the larger the market,
435 the better the prices. In the long run, the best price for animals exists in the larger markets and one knows beforehand that an animal sold in Had Ruadi or Arba Taurirt will fetch a lower price than at Beni Bu Iyash. Yet to sell in such a market the fellah is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. Should he take his livestock--a goat tied across the back of his mule or a cow herded along on foot--to a market further than his local suq, he must return the animal home or be entirely

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmir.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebíes* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.